

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 TANANA 00301 231450Z

42

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 OMB-01 IO-10 NIC-01 /079 W

----- 014953

P R 191305Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6959

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

COMIDEASTFOR

C O N F I D E N T I A L TANANARIVE 0301

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, MA

SUBJECT: POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN MADAGASCAR

DEPT PASS DIA

CINCLANT AND CINCUSNAVEUR FOR POLADS

BEGIN SUMMARY: MILITARY DIRECTORY WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE FOR QUITE SOME TIME AS MALAGASY GOVERNMENT. WE FORESEE LIKELY EARLY EMERGENCE OF INFLUENCE STRUGGLE AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY OF POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN DIRECTORY BETWEEN CONSERVATIVES AND RADICALS. OUTCOME UNCERTAIN, DESPIT APPARENTLY FAIRLY STRONG CHIPS OF CONSERVATIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY ESTIMATE IS THAT MILITARY DIRECTORY, WHICH ASSUMED CONTROL LAST WEEK IN MADAGASCAR AFTER ASSASSINATION OF HEAD OF STATE COLONEL RATSIMANDRAVA, LIKELY REMAIN AS GOVERNMENT INDEFINITELY, PERHAPS FOR SEVERAL YEARS. SUBSTANCE OF POLITICAL POWER LIES IN MILITARY HANDS, EVEN MORE SO TODAY THAN IT HAS DURING  
CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TANANA 00301 231450Z

TWO-AND-HALF-YEAR PERIOD SINCE 1972 REVOLUTION.

2. ONLY ALTERNATIVES WOULD APPEAR BE EITHER (A) RETURN TO POLITICAL PARTIES OR (B) TURNOVER OF POWER TO NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR POPULAR DEVELOPMENT (CNPD), MADAGASCAR'S ONLY ELECTIVE NATIONAL BODY. FIRST ALTERNATIVE SEEMS RULED OUT BY MILITARY DIRECTORY'S SUSPENSION OF POLITICAL PARTIES, PLUS ITS SUSPICION OF PRO-SOVIET AKFM, ONLY IMPORTANT POLITICAL PARTY LEFT AFTER VIRTUAL DESTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST PARTY BECAUSE OF LATTER'S LINK WITH LAST WEEK'S ABORTIVE REBELLION. SECOND ALTERNATIVE APPEARS UNLIKELY IN VIEW OF PALLID NATURE OF CNPD.

3. WITH BOTH RAMANANTSOA AND RATSIMANDRAVA GONE FROM POLITICAL SCENE, EMBASSY FORESEES LIKELY EMERGENCE AT EARLY STAGE OF INFLUENCE STRUGGLE AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY OF POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN MILITARY DIRECTORY BETWEEN CONSERVATIVES HEADED BY ANDRIAMAHAZO, CHAIRMAN OF DIRECTORY, AND RADICALS LED BY RATSIRAKA, FOREIGN MINISTER IN RAMANANTSOA GOVT AND NOW MEMBER OF DIRECTORY. IN SUCH EVENT WE BELIEVE ANDRIAMAHAZO COULD COUNT ON SUPPORT OF CERTAIN OTHER MEMBERS OF DIRECTORY (LT. COLONEL JOEL RAKOTOMALALA, LT. COLONEL RAKOTONIRINA, CAPTAIN RAMAKAVELO, PERHAPS MAJORS SOJA, PATUREAU AND RAKOTOARIJONA). RATSIRAKA WOULD BE SUPPORT BY BROTHER-IN-LAW MAJOR RAVELOSON, PROBABLY MAJOR ANDRIAMAHOLISOA, AND PERHAPS OTHERS. HOWEVER, BALANCE CONSISTING OF 8 OTHER CAPTAINS AND LIEUTENANTS ON WHOM WE HAVE NO INFORMATION COULD SWING MAJORITY EITHER WAY IF DECISIONS SHOULD COME TO BE TAKEN BY VOTE, RATHER THAN BY CONSENSUS AS THEY PROBABLY HAVE BEEN AT OUTSET.

4. TOP-LEVEL SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL OUTSIDE MILITARY DIRECTORY MIGHT WELL PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN ANY POWER SHOWDOWN WITHIN DIRECTORY, THOUGH PERHAPS LESS SO IF STRUGGLE REMAINS CONFINED TO INFLUENCING MAJOR DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT. IN CASE OF POWER SHOWDOWN, WE BELIEVE ARMED FORCES LEADERSHIP (GENERAL RAMAROLAHY AND LT. COLONEL RAKOTONIRAINY) AND GENDARMERIE LEADERSHIP (LT. COLONELS MAMPILA AND RAKOTOMANGA) LIKELY BACK CONSERVATIVE SIDE. WE THINK COLONEL RABETAFIKA, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF  
CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TANANA 00301 231450Z

GOVERNMENT UNDER RAMANANTSOA BUT WHO HOLDS NO SPECIFIC POSITION AT MOMENT, WOULD ALSO BACK ANDRIAMAHAZO BECAUSE HE COULD SEE HIMSELF AS EVENTUAL SUCCESSOR TO ANDRIAMAHAZO, AND WOULD VIEW RATSIRAKA AS RIVAL WHOSE ACCESSION TO POWER WOULD EXCLUDE ANY POSSIBILITY FOR HIM TO TAKE OVER.

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. OUTLINED IN SEPARATE MESSAGES.  
MENDENHALL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** buchandr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TANANA00301  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750064-0224  
**From:** TANANARIVE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750230/aaaabari.tel  
**Line Count:** 114  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** buchandr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by buchandr>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN MADAGASCAR DEPT PASS DIA  
**TAGS:** PINS, MA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006